

OUR LIBERAL FAITH

Remarks Prepared for Delivery

by

Senator Hubert H. Humphrey (D., Minn.)

Liberal Party 15th Annual Dinner, New York City  
Wednesday, June 10, 1959

I always feel at home at a gathering of the Liberal Party, for we have so much in common. In fact, if anything separates me from the Liberal Party, or the Liberal Party from me, it is nothing more than a couple of capital letters.

For you and I are both liberals -- only you sometimes spell yours with a capital L.

And you and I are both democrats -- only I often spell mine with a capital D.

But I have never heard of a couple of capital letters keeping good friends apart; and so as a liberal, and as a Democrat -- I welcome this chance to be with all of you.

There is much talk about the anti-intellectual atmosphere in Washington. But honestly, much of it is exaggerated. The atmosphere has really changed. It is no longer subversive in Washington to have an idea -- unless it costs money.

And the influence of Madison Avenue in Washington is on the wane, too. You may recall the tug-of-war a few years ago about what label to attach to "Modern Republicanism." The White House was reportedly split right down the middle. There were those who wanted to call it "Dynamic Progressivism." Others wanted to call it "Progressive Dynamism" -- still others "Dynamic Conservatism."

But all that has now been resolved. The official title for Modern Republicanism has been decided.

It is to be called Dynamic Apathy.

Yes, my friends, they said it couldn't be done. But this Republican Administration -- with the help of Madison Avenue -- did it. Apathy Can Be Dynamic!

But I don't need to tell the Liberal Party about the true meaning of the word dynamic, for it is synonymous with this party -- and for a very good reason. You may have thought that the man who has been one of the real sparkplugs of the Liberal Party for so many years was a two-D man. But he is actually three-D -- D for Dynamic, D for David, and D for Dubinsky.

And those of you who have watched that Dubinsky mind bubble over with new ideas and new projects must know that he is not only three-D, but capable of producing stereophonic sound!

Liberal party gatherings are always, for me, a unique experience. For there is always a mixture of many atmospheres.

Perhaps because of the many trade unionists here, these gatherings have all the vigor and excitement of a union meeting.

Perhaps because of the many distinguished educators in your party, these meetings have some of the flavor of a classroom.

Perhaps because of the many noted legal minds there, there is something of the atmosphere that pervades a great debate before the bar.

And finally, perhaps because of the many creative writers and artists that have been drawn to the Liberal Party, there is something here reminiscent of an academy of the arts and sciences.

M o r e

What a party -- made up of a mixture of brain and brawn, of dreamers and doers, of egg-heads -- and hard-boiled eggs!

Each of the men and women on this dais is, in a sense, a world unto himself. I see around me architects of great unions, writers of great books, inventors of philosophy, teachers of a new generation. Each is at or near the summit of his or her world, and could happily live within that world. But each chooses not to. They all choose to join together outside their personal and professional world in a common effort to deal politically with the problems of our society.

Your party is made up of specialists turned politicians; of dreamers turned doers; of men and women who know it is not enough to think liberal; one must also act liberal.

These are men and women who have succeeded in fusing the forces of intelligence and energy; and it is this fusion that transforms ideas into action.

These are men and women, too, who realize that, no matter how great any one man is, "no man is an island entire of itself," and no matter how important any one segment of our society may be, no one class, race, religion, country, or even continent can survive as an island unto itself.

This is the heart of Twentieth Century liberalism: the search for individual independence in a world of interdependence.

A liberal philosophy begins with an understanding of this interdependence and of the intermingling of our various national policies.

We can not pursue a foreign policy that is contrary to our domestic policy; we can not have a liberal and flexible foreign policy based on the status quo and apathy at home.

What good is it to aim for increased production unless we also plan and provide for a similar growth in consumption?

We can not expect to explore new worlds if we deliberately go on depriving new generations of proper schools and the best of teachers.

We can not ask for ethical practices in trade unions, and expect to get them easily, unless we insist upon the same kind of ethics in business and government.

We are witnessing Government by Shibboleth -- policy by slogan.

For example, Inflation Is Evil: therefore virtually anything that is alleged to combat inflation is Good -- including the raising of interest rates, which puts a clumsy hand on the jugular vein of the economy and cuts off the blood supply.

To be sure, interest rates are raised in the name of fighting inflation. But what about the inflation they bring to the small businessman who is trying to expand his company? Or to the family that is trying to buy a home? Or to the city or county that is trying to build new roads or new schools?

Somehow, this kind of inflation does not seem to enter into the thinking of this Republican Administration.

Another example of Government by Shibboleth and slogan.

Communism is Evil; therefore anything that bears the label of Anti-Communist is Good -- even if it encroaches on such basic American precepts as freedom of thought and expression, freedom of association, innocence until proven guilty; the right of an accused to face his accuser. Government by Shibboleth would have us devote far more of our energies to investigating a Sara Lawrence professor seeking a Fulbright fellowship than in combatting the real Communists at the front lines of this battle: in Asia and Africa where uneducated peoples are struggling to win the war against poverty, disease and ignorance.

Another Shibboleth: Private Spending is Good -- Whether it be for longer, more powerful, chromier and finn-ier automobiles to replace the long, powerful, chrome-y cars that already fill our city streets and overflow our garages; but Government Spending is Bad -- whether it be for roads to put those larger cars on, or for schools for our children or for decent housing for the thousands of

Americans who live in slums, or for projects like hydro-electric dams that add to our national wealth.

The sad fact is, we are letting our national plant run down. Our economy is growing, but we are devoting a smaller portion of it to those public purposes -- that public investments, if you will -- that make a nation and a people not only rich but great and strong.

Twentieth Century America cannot only requires an up-to-date program but it demands an integrated and coordinated program.

We need a program that starts with the integration of our schools and ends with the peaceful cooperation of the world.

We can not fly to the moon while our political feet are stuck in the mud.

The Twentieth Century demands programs that have daring and design, where one detail fits another, as part of a long range plan.

To survive we must plan. In the second half of this interdependent and explosive century, to continue planless may be to end lifeless.

Permit me to cite one problem, probably the knottiest of our times: the problem of countering Soviet power. None of us can solve this problem here and now at this dinner. Indeed, that is precisely the point about the nature of this problem: it can not be solved with one act, one conference, one idea. We will have to wrestle with this problem over many years. And precisely for that reason, we must map an over-all policy, a long-range plan and be prepared to carry it out so that time may work for us and not against us.

Nor will America successfully counter Soviet power alone. We must act collectively -- together with all freedom loving peoples. And we must seek a many-sided solution through skillful negotiation.

Strengthening our alliances and conducting our negotiations with the Soviets are not two separated functions. The stronger our alliances, the greater can our successes be in negotiations. And the more successful our negotiations, the stronger can we build our alliances.

Above all, we must negotiate from strength, strength that is military, moral and economic.

Yet the moment we say this we begin to note both the complex and integrated character of this problem.

What makes up a nation's strength? To be sure, it consists in part of men and missiles. But this means an economic policy that will allow us to pay for these costly items. It means an educational policy that will provide the brain power to produce and to operate these amazing machines. It means a program of medical care and health protection capable of assuring us of a strong and vigorous people. Our defense strength means allies, not only in the traditional area of the North Atlantic, but allies and friends in Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

In short, a nation's strength is first of all founded in people, and only secondly in the products of their minds and muscles.

A nation's strength is not simply cold steel but warm hearts. And that is why America's strength must be rooted in the human and humane principles of liberalism.

A nation's moral strength is vital too, and this we must constantly build. We are in a peculiarly good position to do so, because America is the world in miniature, a composite -- a mosaic -- of peoples from everywhere. Assuring every man in America an equal place in the sun, be he white or colored, Catholic, Protestant or Jew, can give evidence to millions throughout the world that they too are entitled to and can enjoy their place in the sun. We must never forget that America's so-called minorities are the world's majorities.

We must build our economic strength. But what is economic strength? Surely, economic strength is not simply more factories with more machines. Unless there are buyers to purchase and use the constantly expanding output of these plants, both machines and factories will grind to a standstill. And then, the abundance

that should be a blessing becomes a curse and men walk the street unable to find work.

Building economic strength means encouraging full employment; it means helping every American family to balance its own personal budget, not by using less but by earning more -- and producing more.

Building economic strength means breathing new life into the distressed areas of our nation where for months and even years now supposedly productive men, machines, and buildings have been allowed to stand idle, unused and unwanted.

Building economic strength means sustaining the purchasing power of the jobless, the aged, the injured and the sick.

We must work ceaselessly for a high and ever higher standard of living not simply for the good, solid economic reason that this is the only way to provide a dynamic market for dynamic growth, but also for the good and convincing humane reason that people do not exist to run an economy, but that an economy exists to be run for the people.

We must build our international strength. This will demand a program of economic aid, not for today and for tomorrow, but for so long as there are haves and have-not nations in the world. We must demonstrate that our system can out-provide Soviet totalitarianism, not only for the benefit of our own citizens, but for have-not peoples everywhere.

Skilled diplomats alone cannot deal with the problem of Soviet expansion. We need the combined intelligence of economists, scientists, statesmen, legislators, judges -- and the good will, understanding, and energies of our own citizens and the people of this earth.

And such combined effort can not be left to chance and the moment. We need -- as a nation -- what you have around this dais as a party -- a combination of talents contributing to a program of human progress.

Unhappily, this national need is not being met today -- mostly, I am constrained to say, because the White House is not occupied by a liberal -- and you can take your pick between a big L and a little l.

Regrettably, a conservative government finds itself incapable of appreciating or understanding the full meaning of the political, economic, and social revolution that is underway today throughout the world, and indeed has been underway in many parts of the world for the past two generations.

The Conservative government sees the problems, but never comes up with the answers.

It is more concerned about the traditions and institutions of government, than it is about the people that the government is designed to serve.

Above all, it has demonstrated an utter incapacity and inability to identify with people -- the needs of people, the hopes and wants of people here and abroad.

We counter attack -- we react -- rather than design a program that we know to be right and sound, and worthy of our efforts, our tradition, and our sacrifice.

We have insisted upon allies, when it would have been better if we sought to make friends.

But the most depressing picture of all is how we have lost the mantle of the peace-maker.

The slogans of this Republican Administration are evidence enough to demonstrate to any person how we have played right into the hands of the Communist propagandists who accuse us of aggression, and of war-like aims.

While the American citizen may understand these slogans for what they are -- mainly political palavar, or, in more sophisticated words, "public relations" -- the people in other parts of the world do not always comprehend our rather shoddy colloquial expressions.

When you talk of a 'bigger bang for a buck,' 'massive retaliation,' 'massive

deterrent,' and you explain in screaming headlines the destructive power of the new fantastic nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons -- when day after day you attempt to satisfy the American public's desire for an adequate defense structure by headlines announcing another new missile, or plans for an even bigger and more deadly missile and rocket, is it any wonder that millions and millions of people throughout the world doubt our dedication to peace?

We have talked ourselves out of the role of peacemaker.

And this Administration has done it without even providing the nation with the defense that it requires.

What an ironical situation!

Public relations has been used as a substitute for public policy.

Propaganda has been substituted for preparedness.

The political slogan of a balanced-budget has been substituted for the maintenance of a proper balance of power in the world.

Even massive deterrence has given way to a new kind of jargon called 'minimum deterrence.'

Anything, any word, any scheme, any gimmick to satisfy the Republican hard-money, tight-credit, high interest, balance-the-budget, tax loophole, special privilege, economic royalist credo.

And we find ourselves with an Administration that is more concerned over inflation than it is with a world conflagration.

Its spokesmen say quite openly, inflation is our greatest danger -- even as Khrushchev threatens us again and again, and as the power of the Communist military and economic machine expands every day.

The tragedy of all this, however, is that the people of this country are truly dedicated to peace.

Ours is a tradition of peace and generosity, of compassion and humanitarianism.

What is more, there is nothing incompatible about having a strong defensive shield to give us the security and the sense of inner strength that makes possible the fulfillment of our mission as the peacemaker.

Let us never forget that there are many more people in this world who want to live, than want to die.

Let us not forget that millions of people have lived under conditions of tyranny and terror for so long that there is nothing more that can be done to frighten them.

What they seek is help, guidance, friendship, understanding.

What this world needs today is not massive retaliation, but massive doses of health, education, and food.

We need some guided missiles to the hearts and minds of men -- missiles of technology and science, missiles of schools and education; yes, missiles of medicine and medical care -- of jobs and industry, of public works and public welfare.

It is to the creation of these missiles that we must dedicate our talents and our energies.

We must wage peace, while we defend ourselves against attack.

We must move on the offensive, and declare war against mankind's most ancient and terrible enemies of hunger, disease, poverty, and ignorance.

It must be a war of deeds -- the kind of deeds that we Americans have demonstrated our ability to accomplish and perform.

We need a bold, new "Food for Peace" program, dedicating our God-given abundance to serving the needs of humanity -- rather than complaining about it.

We need a dramatic, worldwide "Health for Peace" program, with vastly expanded international medical research.

We need to launch a broad program of world educational development -- a plan of "Education for Peace."

These are truly the "Works of Peace."

These are the kinds of deeds that made America what it is today.

This is the concept of government that might have been in the mind of the poet, John Donne, when he wrote that "No man is an island."

What John Donne referred to, when he wrote those words in the 16th Century, was the spiritual kinship of man to his fellow man.

Today, in the 20th Century, this kinship is more than spiritual: it is economic, it is scientific, it is intellectual -- yes, and it is political.

Hence we, today, can say with John Donne, that when the bell tolls for poverty, for disease, for death, or for the loss of liberty anywhere, "never send to know for whom the bell tolls; It tolls for thee" -- and me.

From Address of Senator Hubert Humphrey - Liberal Party Dinner, Hotel Commodore, June 10, 1959. 001034

...."Now my good friends, we cannot pursue a foreign policy that is contrary to a domestic policy. You can't have a liberal, effective and enlightened foreign policy when you adhere to an apathetic, indifferent, conservative domestic policy.

What good is it? I ask. To aim for increased production unless we have plans to provide for a similar growth in consumption. We cannot expect, can we, to explore new worlds - outer space - if we deliberately go on depriving new generations of proper schools and the best of teachers? And I ask you, we cannot ask, can we, for ethical practices in trade unions and expect to get them easily unless we insist upon the same kind of ethics in business and in government?

Let me address myself more specifically to this matter. We must not be stampeded into adopting or passing any old kind of labor-management bill just for the sake of passing a bill. The American people want a bill. The American labor movement wants a bill. And we need a bill, a law which will help and aid and assist the honest labor leaders remove the cancer of corruption from the American labor movement. That we need. (applause)

But we do not want and we should not have a bill or a law which will weaken or cripple the American labor movement or weaken or cripple the democratic processes of honest American trade unionism. (applause)

And I might add that we have been blessed in this nation with great, enlightened, civic minded and responsible trade union leaders. When I think of names such as a George Mead, a Walter Reuther, an Al Hayes, a David Dubinsky, an Alex Rose, a George Harris, a Jim Carey, a Dave McDonald, a Jack Petofsky, a Joe Burns - only to mention a few. There are many others here tonight. I say to my fellow Americans, you can thank God you had such kind of labor leaders for a free labor movement."(applause)

## HONORABLE HUBERT HUMPHREY SPEECH

M.C.: WOR now brings you a special program from the Hotel Commodore in New York. Tonight is the 15th Annual Dinner of the Liberal Party of the State of New York. The principal speaker before this assembly of labor leaders and prominent New York citizens will be the Honorable Hubert Humphrey, Senator from Minnesota.

And now our first speaker, Professor Paul R. Hayes of Columbia University.

HAYES: I take this opportunity to welcome the radio audience to the 15th Anniversary Dinner of the Liberal Party, where over 1,500 members and friends of the Liberal Party are gathered in the Grand Ballroom of the Hotel Commodore. We have already heard inspiring addresses from party leaders.

We now are turned to our next speaker. Among the spokesmen for liberalism in this country no voice is more eloquent, no name more honorable than that of Senator Humphrey. (APPLAUSE) There are others who will think of who may claim what we call a perfect voting record. Senator Humphrey has the right to claim a second record - a record of vigorous action and effective leadership on the issues

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which for Liberals are the vital issues of democracy.

(APPLAUSE)

Ladies and gentlemen, I have the pleasure to present to you Senator Hubert Humphrey. (APPLAUSE)

HUMPHREY: Thank you very much. Thank you very much. Thank you very much, Professor Hayes. David Dubinsky, Alex Rose, my dinner companions, two illustrious liberal leaders, the many others who are here at the dais and in the audience.

You know, it's been a long time since I've been to a Liberal Party dinner. I think it's about ten years or eleven. And during that period of time many wonderful things have happened. I know that you've been under outstanding leadership, leadership of great intellectuals and great minds of America. Such distinguished liberal educators as our own Adolph Burley, former Undersecretary of State; Professor of Law at Columbia, Dr. John Childs whom we heard this evening, and George Counts(?) who has left Columbia to teach at Pittsburgh; your present acting chairman of tonight's dinner, Paul Hayes, Columbia Professor of Law. Many others.

My, when you start to mention names, what a dangerous pursuit this gets to be! Because you just leave out the names of so many good people whom ought to be mentioned. But let me just say that if anything I can say

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tonight would be a tribute to any of you, you have it. And you have it in generous and sincere measure.

I always - I always feel at home at a gathering of our Liberal Party, for we have so much in common. In fact, if anything separates me at all from the Liberal Party, or if there is anything that separates the Liberal Party from me, it is nothing more than just a couple of capital letters. For you and I are both liberals. Only you sometimes spell yours with a capital L. And you and I are both democrats, only I often spell mine with a capital D.

Now when - I - I've never heard of a couple of just ordinary capital letters in the English alphabet keeping good friends apart. And so - and so as a liberal and as a democrat, I welcome this chance to speak to you and to be with you.

Now you know my friend Alex Rose said to me, Senator, we've had a long meeting tonight, and, he said, I do hope you will never forget that ~~XXXXXXXX~~ speeches do not have to be eternal to be immortal. And I - I'm - I'm mindful of this. I ~~may~~ may - I may have taken a little editorial license here but not much.

And then David Dubinsky looked at me and with all - really - sort of affection this evening he said, Ah, he said, there's Senator Hubert Humphrey going to fix his

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attention upon notes and script. This is a good sign for one and all. So with that lean back, enjoy the evening.

Now you know there is much talk these days in Washington about the anti-intellectual atmosphere of that city. But honestly I have some good news for you. This is exaggerated. The atmosphere has actually changed. It is really no longer considered even subversive in Washington to have an idea.

~~Max~~ Wait a minute! Unless it costs money. And then you have to take another look. And the influence of your own Madison Avenue in Washington is on the wane too. I can't say that Wall Street is, but Madison Avenue is. And you may recall, for example, the tug of war a few years ago about the kind of a label to attach to this so-called modern republicanism.

Now of course that's a play on words itself. This is like talking about new antiques. But having said that - having said that, all of this is now resolved, so rest in peace. The official line of modern ~~republican~~ republicans has been decided. They've got a new title for it. It's called dynamic apathy.

Somebody once asked. They said, What's the difference between a good old-line republican and a modern republican. And the answer was that there was considerable difference. The old-line republican says change never.

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The modern republican says change, yes, but not now. So I think dynamic apathy fits the situation quite well.

But I don't need to tell this Liberal Party about the true meaning of that wonderful word dynamic, for it is synonymous with this party. And for a very good reason. You may have thought that the man who has been one of the real sparkplugs in the Liberal Party for so many years was what we call a 2-D man. But I have news for you. He's actually a 3-D man. D for dynamic; D for David, and D for Dubinsky.

And I forgot - he's a 4-D man. D for Doctor - Doctor Dubinsky. And when you pin a rose on him, Alex, that even gets better.

Now those of you who have watched this Dubinsky mind bubble over with new ideas and new projects, must know that he's not only 3-D, but capable of what they call producing stereophonic sound. And I might even add high fidelity political action. Thank goodness!

So Liberal Parties are always fun for me, and they are a unique experience too. For there is always a mixture of many atmospheres here. Perhaps because of the many trade unionists, these gatherings have all of the vigor, the excitement of a good old-fashioned union meeting. And perhaps because of the many distinguished educators in your party, these meetings have the - some of the

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flavor of a class at a university, a great scholarly seminar. And perhaps because of the noted legal minds that I see here tonight, there is something of the atmosphere that pervades a great, decisive moment in the argument before a court. And finally perhaps because of the many creative writers and artists that have been drawn to this liberal party there is something here reminiscent of the Academy of Arts and Sciences.

So all I can say is, What a party this liberal party! In fact, it's made up of a wonderful mixture of brain and brawn, of dreamers and doers, of eggheads and hard boiled eggs, too, may I add. And each of the men and each of the women on this dais is in a sense a world unto himself. I see around me tonight architects of great unions, writers of great books, teachers and philosophers of the new generation. And each is - each one is at or very near the summit of his or her world and could live very happily <sup>within</sup> ~~in~~ that world.

But each chooses not to do so. They all choose to join together outside of their own personal and professional world in a common effort to deal politically with the problems of our society. Yes, your party is made up of specialists turned politicians, of dreamers turned doers, of men and women who <sup>know</sup> ~~make~~ that it is not enough to think liberal, but <sup>know</sup> /also that one must act liberal. And

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these are the men, these are the men and the women who have succeeded in fusing the forces of intelligence and energy. And it is this kind of fusion that transforms ideas into action. And I tell you that's what American politics needs today. (APPLAUSE)

Yes, these are the men and women, too, who realize that no matter how great one may be, as John Donne, that great poet has written: No man is an island entire of itself. And no matter how important any one segment of our society may be, no one class, no one religion, race, country, or even continent can survive as an island unto itself.

Now this is the heart of the 20th century liberalism, the search for individual independence in a world of interdependence. And a liberal philosophy begins with the understanding of this interdependence, and an intermingling of our various national politics.

Now my good friends, we cannot ~~execute~~ <sup>pursue</sup> a foreign policy that is contrary to a domestic policy. You can't have a liberal, effective and enlightened foreign policy when you adhere to an apathetic, indifferent, conservative domestic policy.

What good is it? I ask. To aim for increased production unless we have plans to provide for a similar growth in consumption. We cannot expect, can we, to explore

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new worlds - outer space - if we deliberately go on depriving new generations of proper schools and the best of teachers? And I ask you, We cannot ask, can we, for ethical ~~practices~~ practices in trade unions and expect to get them easily unless we insist upon the same kind of ethics in business and in government?

Let me address myself more specifically to this matter. We must not be stampeded into adopting or passing any old kind of labor-management bill just for the sake of passing a bill. The American people want a bill. The American labor movement wants a bill. And we need a bill, a law which will help and aid and assist the honest labor leaders remove the cancer of corruption from the American labor movement. That we need. (APPLAUSE)

But we do not want and we should not have a bill or a law which will weaken or cripple the American labor movement or weaken or cripple the democratic processes of honest American trade unionism. (APPLAUSE)

And I might add that we have been blessed in this nation with great, enlightened, civic minded and responsible trade union leaders. When I think of names such as a George Mead, <sup>NY</sup> a Walter Reuther~~x~~, an Al Hayes, a David Dubinsky, an Alex Rose, a George Harris, a Jim Carey, a Dave McDonald, a Jack Petosky, a Joe Burns - only to mention a few. There are many others here tonight. I say to my fellow Americans,

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you can thank God you had such kind of labor leaders for a free labor movement. (APPLAUSE)

Now can I just give a word of caution and of admonition if you will permit me to my friends in labor? And I am your friend and you've been mine. The labor movement in America is not a business. It is a cause. And it must have a philosophy. <sup>To my</sup> ~~My~~ friends in the trade movement I say that if you treat your activities as if they were a business you will be so regulated. But if you develop your ~~MEMBER~~ movement on the basis of a cause, a faith, a purpose for the members and for the good of the American people you have every right to be treated as a voluntary association of free men and women. (APPLAUSE)

And there are those of us who will stand guard to see that such treatment is afforded. Now the sad fact is, fellow Americans, that we are sort of letting our national plant run down. Our economy is growing; everybody knows that, but not at a rapid enough rate. But we are devoting a smaller proportion every year of that ~~MEMBER~~ economy to those essential public expenditures, public investments that make a nation and a people not only rich but great and strong.

The 20th century America not only requires an up to date program but it demands an integrated and coordinated program. We need a program that starts with the

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integration of our schools and ends with the peaceful cooperation and integration of our world. You know, we cannot fly to the moon while our political feet are stuck in the mud and the muck of political mediocrity. It just can't happen.

The 20th century demands programs that have daring and have design, for one detail fits into another as a part of an interdependent society in a long-range plan. And I for one am prepared to state that to survive we must plan. Wall Street Journal not to the contrary.

In the second half of this interdependent and explosive century to continue planless may be to end up lifeless. I have said before and I repeat it here tonight that good old-fashioned planning, the use of our human and natural resources is good solid American doctrine. And planning ought to be taken out of the doghouse and put smack ~~bang~~ bang into the White House. That's where it belongs. (APPLAUSE)

Now permit me to ~~cite~~ cite just one problem where I think there is a necessity for planning. Probably the knottiest, the toughest problem of our time. The problem of countering Soviet Communist power. It cannot be resolved by any one act. No miracle, no one conference, no one idea. We will have to wrestle with this problem over many years. And precisely for that reason we must

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map an over-all plan, an over-all policy, and be prepared to carry it out, so that time may work for us and not against us.

And I think it's well that we remember that America cannot successfully alone counter Soviet power. We must act collectively, together with all the freedom-loving peoples of the world. And we must seek a many-sided solution through skillful negotiations. And strengthening our alliances and conducting ~~xxx~~ negotiations with the Soviets are not ~~xx~~ two separate functions. The stronger our alliances the greater can be our success in negotiations. And the more successful our negotiations the stronger will be our alliances.

Above all, fellow Americans, we must negotiate only from strength, and strength that is military to be sure, but strength that is moral and strength that is economic. Well, now what makes up a nation's strength. <sup>Tarry</sup> ~~xxxx~~ with me ~~x~~ for a moment and let's examine it.

To be sure, it consists of men, munitions and missiles. But that's not all. And this requires an economic policy that will allow us to pay for these costly items. It means also educational policy that will train the minds and the brainpower to produce and operate these amazing machines. Our national strength also means a program of medical care, of health protection, capable of

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assuring us a strong and vigorous America. Our defense strength means allies, not only the traditional allies of the North Atlantic community either, as important as they are. But allies and friends in Asia, in Africa, and in Latin-America.

A nation's strength is not simply cold steel. It is in fact very much a warm heart. And I think that's why America's strength must be rooted deep in the human and humane principles of liberalism. A nation's moral strength is very vital too. And this we must constantly attend to ~~xxxxxxx~~ and build. We are in a peculiarly good position to do this because America is a world in miniature, a mosaic, a composite of peoples from everywhere. And who knows this better than a New Yorker?

Assuring every man in America of an equal place in the sun, be he white or colored, Catholic, Protestant or Jew, can give evidence to millions and millions throughout the world that they too are entitled to and can enjoy their place in the sun. And we must (APPLAUSE) - and we in America must never forget that America's so-called minorities are the world's majorities.

And we must build our economic strength. But economic strength is not simply more factories with more machines. Building economic strength means encouraging full employment. It means building and helping every

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American family to balance its own personal budget, not by using less ~~by~~ but by earning more, and producing more.

And building economic strength ~~me~~ to me means breeding new life in those distressed or less fortunate areas of our own nation; building economic ~~me~~ strength means sustaining the purchasing power too of the jobless, of the aged, the injured, and of the sick.

And policies and programs must be designed, my friends, to make these hopes a reality. We must therefore cease and work ceaselessly for a high and an ever higher standard of living. Not simply for the good old economic reason that this is the only way to provide a dynamic market for dynamic growth, but also for the good and convincing humane reason that people do not exist to run an economy, but rather that an economy exists to be run for the people. (APPLAUSE)

And we must build international strength. We must demonstrate unqualifiedly that our system can out-produce, out-provide Soviet totalitarianism, not only for the benefit of our own citizens but for the have-not peoples throughout the world. Skilled ~~me~~ diplomats alone cannot deal with this problem, my friends, of Soviet expansion. We need ~~them~~ combined intelligence of the economists, the scientists, the statesmen, the legislators, the judges and we need the good will and the understanding and the energy

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of our own good citizens and the people of the earth.

And such combined effort cannot be left to chance and to the moment. We need as a nation what this political party has, this great liberal party has, we need a combination of talents, such as we see here in this banquet hall tonight, contributing to a program of human progress. And unhappily the national need that I have outlined is not being met today. And mostly I am constrained to say because the White House is not occupied by a liberal. And you can take your pick between a big L or a little L.

We are in fact my friends the victims of a conservative caretaker government. In an age of revolution, of violent change and turbulence. And regrettably a conservative government that finds itself utterly incapable of appreciating or even understanding the full meaning of political, economic and social revolution that grips this world.

The conservative government can see the problems. My, they have ~~skunk~~ study commissions for every problem. But it never comes up with the answers. Remember that when I spoke of those Ds tonight, there are three Ds in democracy too. There is debate, dissent and decision. But we have lived through a period in which debate and dissent has been frowned upon and decision is a lost art. (APPLAUSE)

This conservative government is concerned more

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about institutions and formalities than it is about the people that the government is designed to serve. And above all it has demonstrated an utter incapacity to identify itself with people, with the needs and the hopes and the aspirations of people, not only here, but abroad.

You know what we do. We counterattack. We react rather than design a program that we know to be right and sound and worthy of our efforts and of our tradition and our sacrifice. But the most distressing of all things to me is how we have allowed this country of ours to lose the mantel of the peacemaker.

We've lost the identity with people. We've become the defender of the status quo rather than progress. And ~~xxxxxxxx~~ regrettably in many areas of the world we are not identified as the peacemaker but rather as the warmonger. And I say that the slogans of our own government, of this present administration are evidence enough to demonstrate to any person that we have played right into the hands of the Communist propagandists.

Massive retaliation. Bigger bang for a buck. Massive deterrents. Screaming headlines of some terrible new missile rocket or thermonuclear weapon. Is it any wonder? Is it any wonder that millions of people throughout the world doubt our dedication to peace?

Yes, we are talking ourselves out of one of the

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most important roles in history, the role, the opportunity of being the peacemaker, a just peace - and this administration, mind you, has done it without even providing the nation with the defense that we need.

What an ironical situation we find! Public relations ~~has~~ has been substituted for public policy. Propaganda has been substituted for preparedness. The political slogan of a balanced budget has been ~~substituted~~ substituted for the maintenance of a proper ~~balance~~ balance of power, in the world.

Even massive deterrents now has given way to a new slogan, a new jargon called minimum deterrents. Anything, any word, any scheme, any gimmick to satisfy the republican conservative hard-money, tight-credit, high-interest, budget-balance, tax-loophole, special-privilege economic royalist credo. That's what we've been through.  
(APPLAUSE)

Indeed we have witnessed government by cliché. For example, here's a good cliché for you in the present jargon of politics. Inflation is evil, say the men at 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue. <sup>Therefore</sup> ~~Therefore~~, it follows, according to the cliché and the jargon, that virtually anything alleged to combat inflation is ~~good~~ supposed to be good. Including raising the interest rates, which puts a clumsy hand on the jugular vein of our economy and chokes the

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lifeline. Now, but I ask what about the inflation that interest rates bring to the small businessman who is trying to expand his company, or to the family that's trying to buy a new home, or the city or the county that is trying to build new roads or new ~~xxxxxx~~ schools?

Yet, somehow this kind of inflation doesn't seem to enter into the thinking of this republican administration. There is another kind of cliché too. Private spending is good and government spending is bad. Private spending even when it's for longer cars with chromier fronts and finnier tails. But <sup>public</sup> spending is bad even if it's for roads to put those larger, chromier, finnier cars on, or for schools for our children, or for decent housing for thousands of Americans who live in slums, or for projects like hydro-electric dams ~~xx~~ that add to our nation's wealth.

The republican spokesmen are quite frank about it. You know what they say, Inflation is our greatest danger, they say. Even as Nikita Krushev threatens us again and again and as the power of the Communist empire grows militarily and economically every day. What lack of vision, what dangerous indifference! And the tragedy of all of this is how our people really long for something different, of how the American people are truly dedicated to the concepts of peace and justice and freedom.



And it must be a war of deeds, not phrases and slogans or words. Yes, we need a bold food for peace program that will put to work the tremendous abundance of food and fibre by which we are blessed in this nation. And put it to work to serve humanity rather than to complain about it and to store it in warehouses at a billion dollars a year cost to the American taxpayer. (APPLAUSE)

And my friends and neighbors, we need a dramatic worldwide health for peace program with vastly expanded international medical research to wage relentless war against disease that afflicts and cripples millions and millions of people throughout the world. And finally we need and we must launch a great and broad program of world educational development, a plan for education for peace, striking literally body blows against the terrible burden of illiteracy that besets millions of people throughout the world.

Now these are truly the works of peace. And they are the kind of deeds, my friend, that made America great and built great unions, great cities, great states. This is the concept of ~~government~~ government, ~~you~~ you know, that might have been in the mind of that poet~~x~~ that I quoted earlier in my remarks, John Donne, when he wrote that no man is an island unto himself.

What John Donne referred to when he wrote those

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words in the 16th century was the spiritual kinship of man to his fellow man. But today in the 20th century that kinship is even more than spiritual. It is economic. It is scientific. It is ~~intellectual~~ intellectual. It is political.

Hence, we today can say with the poet, John Donne, that when the bell tolls for poverty, when the bell tolls for disease or for death, or for the loss of liberty anywhere, never send(?) to know for whom the bell tolls. It tolls for thee. And it tolls for me.

Thank you very much.

(APPLAUSE)

END.

Prof Hay - Mr Dub. mal, Row

OUR LIBERAL FAITH

001 055

Remarks of Senator Hubert H. Humphrey at the Liberal Party 15th Annual Dinner, New York City, June 10, 1959.

*But* I always feel at home at a gathering of the Liberal

Party, for we have so much in common. In fact, if anything

separates me from the Liberal Party, or the Liberal Party from

me, it is nothing more than a couple of capital letters.

*Both  
Liberals*

L For you and I are both liberals -- only you sometimes spell yours with a capital L.

*Both  
Democrats*

And you and I are both democrats -- only I often spell mine with a capital D.

L But I have never heard of a couple of capital letters keeping good friends apart; and so as a liberal, and as a Democrat -- I welcome this chance to be with all of you.

*Start*

L There is much talk about the anti-intellectual atmosphere in Washington. But honestly, much of it is exaggerated. The atmosphere has really changed. It is no longer subversive

in Washington to have an idea -- unless it costs money.

And the influence of Madison Avenue in Washington is on the wane, too. You may recall the tug-of-war a few years ago about what label to attach to "Modern Republicanism".

The White House was reportedly split right down the middle. There were those who wanted to call it "Dynamic Progressivism". Others wanted to call it "Progressive Conservatism". Still others "Dynamic Conservatism".

new Antiques

But all that has now been resolved. The official title for Modern Republicanism has been decided.

old line Rep -- new change  
mod Rep -- change not now!  
HOGG, GOSLOW,  
HOTNOW-VETO

It is to be called Dynamic Apathy.

Yes, my friends, they said it couldn't be done. But

this Republican Administration -- with the help of Madison Avenue -- did it. Apathy Can Be Dynamic! so they say!

But I don't need to tell the Liberal Party about the true meaning of the word dynamic, for it is synonymous with this

Handwritten scribbles and initials on the left side of the page.

party -- and for a very good reason. You may have thought  
 that the man <sup>who</sup> ~~is~~ has been one of the real sparkplugs of the  
 Liberal Party for so many years was a two-D man. But he is  
 actually three-D -- D for Dynamic, D for David, and D for  
Dubinsky. — oh yes a 4-D man Dr David Dubinsky!

And those of you who have watched that Dubinsky mind  
 bubble over with new ideas and new projects must know that he  
 is not only three-D, but capable of producing stereophonic  
 sound! and Hi-Fidelity Pol. Action!

~~Democratic~~  
~~Liberal~~ party gatherings are always, for me, a unique  
 experience. For there is always a mixture of many atmospheres.

Perhaps because of the many trade unionists here, these  
 gatherings have all the vigor and excitement of a union meeting.

Perhaps because of the many distinguished educators in  
 your party, these meetings have some of the flavor of a class  
room.

*Cliche*  
We are witnessing Government by ~~Shibboleth~~ -- policy by

*Out*  
slogan.

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For example, Inflation Is Evil; therefore virtually any-

thing that is alleged to combat Inflation is Good -- including

Perhaps because of the many noted legal minds there, there

is something of the atmosphere that pervades a great ~~debate~~ <sup>argument</sup>

before ~~the bar~~ <sup>a court</sup>.

And finally, perhaps because of the many creative writers

and artists that have been drawn to the ~~Liberal Party~~ <sup>Democratic</sup>

something here reminiscent of an "academy of the arts and sciences."

<sup>The Liberal Party</sup>  
What a party -- made up of a mixture of brain and brawn,

of dreamers and doers, of egg-heads -- and hard-boiled eggs!

<sup>Day-ass</sup>  
Each of the men and women on this dais is, in a sense,

a world unto himself. I see around me architects of great

unions, writers of great books, ~~inventors of philosophy~~ <sup>and</sup>, teachers & <sup>philosophers</sup>

of a new generation. Each is at or near the summit of his or

her world, and could happily live within that world. But

each chooses not to. They all choose to join together outside

their personal and professional world in a common effort to deal

politically with the problems of our society.

cut

*Law*  
Your party is made up of specialists turned politicians;  
of dreamers turned doers; of men and women who know it is not  
enough to think liberal; one must also act liberal.

These are men and women who have succeeded in fusing the  
forces of intelligence and energy; and it is this fusion that  
transforms ideas into action.

These are men and women, too, who realize that, no  
matter how great any one man is, *as John Donne the poet has written* "no man is an island entire  
of itself," and no matter how important any one segment of  
our society may be, no one class, race, religion, country, or  
even continent can survive as an island unto itself.

This is the heart of Twentieth Century liberalism:  
the search for individual independence in a world of inter-  
dependence.

A liberal philosophy begins with an understanding of  
this interdependence and of the intermingling of our various

~~Yes~~ Labor movement a cause - not a business!

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AFL - CIO

Many, Reuther, Hayes  
Dubuick, <sup>Ally</sup> Rose, <sup>George</sup> Harrison, <sup>John</sup> Carey  
<sup>Paul</sup> McDonald, <sup>John</sup> Potofsky, <sup>Bill</sup> Beane  
many others -

For many  
only a  
few

~~Those of us~~

We must not be stampeded in passing  
any old bill - just for the sake of passing  
a bill - The American people want a bill -  
The American labor movement wants a bill -  
We need a law which will help  
~~clean out the honest labor leaders~~  
~~clean out corruption~~  
remove the cancer of corruption  
from the American labor movement.

But, we do not want a bill which  
will weaken or cripple the ~~strongest~~  
American labor movement,  
or weaken or cripple the democratic ~~processes~~  
~~of the trade~~ processes of any union

national policies.

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We can not pursue a foreign policy that is contrary  
to our domestic policy: we can not have a liberal and flexible  
foreign policy based on the status quo and apathy at home.

What good is it to aim for increased production unless  
we also plan and provide for a similar growth in consumption?

↳ We can not expect to explore new worlds if we deliberately  
go on depriving new generations of proper schools and the best  
of teachers.

↳ We can not ask for ethical practices in trade unions,  
and expect to get them easily, unless we insist upon the same  
kind of ethics in business and government.

Insert

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~~and my carnal subjects on  
the goods of Breval & perding~~

and my carnal subjects on the goods of Breval & perding

and my carnal subjects on the goods of Breval & perding

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and my carnal subjects on the goods of Breval & perding

Yes, We are witnessing government by clické - policy  
by Slogan - for example - Inflation is evil - therefore  
virtually anything alleged to combat inflation  
is supposed to be good,  
including,

the raising of interest rates, which puts a clumsy hand on

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the jugular vein of the economy and cuts off the blood supply.

To be sure, interest rates are raised in the name of  
fighting inflation. But what about the inflation <sup>these interest rates</sup> ~~they~~ bring

to the small businessman who is trying to expand his company?

Or to the family that is trying to buy a home? Or to the city

or county that is trying to build new roads or new schools?

Somehow, this kind of inflation does not seem to enter  
into the thinking of this Republican Administration.

Another example of Government by clické and slogan.

Communism is Evil; therefore anything that bears the label  
of Anti-Communist is Good -- even if it encroaches on such basic

American precepts as freedom of thought and expression, freedom

of association, innocence until proven guilty, <sup>and</sup> the right of an

accused to face his accuser. <sup>yes,</sup> Government by clické ~~clické~~ would have

us devote far more of our energies to investigating a Sara Lawrence

Could cancel

professor seeking a Fulbright fellowship than in combatting  
the real Communists at the front lines of this battle: in  
Asia and Africa where uneducated peoples are struggling to  
win the war against poverty, disease and ignorance.

Herds

conservative Republican  
Cliche!

Another ~~stereotype~~: Private Spending is Good, -- whether

it be for longer, ~~more powerful~~, chromier and finer auto-  
mobiles to replace the long, powerful, chrome-y cars that  
already fill our city streets and overflow our garages; but

but

Government Spending is Bad -- whether it be for roads to put

those larger cars on, or for schools for our children or for

decent housing for the thousands of Americans who live in

slums, or for projects like hydro-electric dams that add to

our national wealth.

The sad fact is, we are letting our national plant  
run down. Our economy is growing, but we are devoting a  
smaller portion of it to those public purposes -- those public

The sad fact is, we are letting our national plant  
run down - Our economy is growing, but we  
are diverting a smaller portion of it to those public  
purposes - those public investments - investments, if you will -- that make a nation and a people

not only rich but great and strong.

Twentieth century America not only requires an up-to-  
date program but it demands an integrated and coordinated pro-  
gram.

We need a program that starts with the integration of  
our schools and ends with the peaceful cooperation of the  
world.

We can not fly to the moon while our political feet are  
stuck in the mud and muck of mediocrity!

The Twentieth Century demands programs that have daring  
and design, where one detail fits another, as part of a long  
range plan.

And, To survive we must plan. In the second half of this  
interdependent and explosive century, to continue planless may  
be to end lifeless. Get Planning out of Dog House  
& Put it into White House!

00 10-67

*that necessitates Planning*

Permit me to cite one problem, probably the knottiest of our times: the problem of countering Soviet power. ~~None~~

*K's visit*

~~of us can solve this problem here and now at this dinner. Indeed, that is precisely the point about the nature of this problem.~~

It can not be solved with one act, one conference, one idea.

We will have to wrestle with this problem over many years. And precisely for that reason, we must map an over-all policy, a long-range plan and be prepared to carry it out so that time may work for us and not against us.

Nor will America successfully counter Soviet power alone.

We must act collectively -- together with all freedom loving peoples. And we must seek a many-sided solution through skillful negotiation.

*and;* Strengthening our alliances and conducting our negotiations with the Soviets are not two separated functions. The stronger our alliances, the greater can our successes be in negotiations.

And the more successful our negotiations, the stronger can we build our alliances.

Above all, we must negotiate from strength, strength that is military, moral and economic.

Yet the moment we say this we begin to note both the complex and integrated character of this problem.

But, <sup>things</sup> what makes up a nation's strength? To be sure, it consists in part of men and missiles. But this <sup>requires</sup> ~~means~~ an economic

policy that will allow us to pay for these costly items. It

means an educational policy that will provide the brain power

to produce and to operate these amazing machines. It means a

program of medical care and health protection capable of assuring

us of a strong and vigorous people. Our defense strength means

allies, not only in the traditional area of the North Atlantic,

but allies and friends in Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

In short, a nation's strength is first of all founded in

people, and only secondly in the products of their minds and muscles.

↳ A nation's strength is not simply cold steel but warm hearts. And that is why America's strength must be rooted in the human and humane principles of liberalism.

↳ A nation's moral strength is vital too, and this we must constantly build. We are in a peculiarly good position to do so, because America is the world in miniature, a composite -- a mosaic -- of peoples from everywhere. Assuring every man in America an equal place in the sun, be he white or colored, Catholic, Protestant or Jew, can give evidence to millions throughout the world that they too are entitled to and can enjoy their place in the sun. We must never forget that America's so-called minorities are the world's majorities.

↳ We must build our economic strength. But what is economic strength? Surely, economic strength is not simply more factories

with more machines. Unless there are buyers to purchase and use the constantly expanding output of these plants, both machines and factories will grind to a standstill. And then, the abundance that should be a blessing becomes a curse and men walk the street unable to find work.

↳ Building economic strength means encouraging full employment; it means helping every American family to balance its own personal budget, not by using less but by earning more -- and producing more.

↳ Building economic strength means breathing new life into the distressed areas of our nation ~~where for months and~~ even years now supposedly productive men, machines, and buildings have been allowed to stand idle, unused and unwanted.

↳ Building economic strength means sustaining the purchasing power of the jobless, the aged, the injured and the sick.

Yes, We must work ceaselessly for a high and ever higher

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standard of living not simply for the good, solid economic reason that this is the only way to provide a dynamic market for dynamic growth, but also for the good and convincing humane reason that people do not exist to run an economy, but that an economy exists to be run for the people.

↳ We must build our international strength. *This will* demand a program of economic aid, *not for today and for to-* morrow, but for so long as there are have and have-not nations *in the world.* We must demonstrate that our system can out- provide Soviet totalitarianism, not only for the benefit of our own citizens, but for have-not peoples everywhere.

↳ Skilled diplomats *alone* cannot deal with the problem of Soviet expansion. We need the combined intelligence of economists, scientists, statesmen, legislators, judges -- and the good will, understanding, and energies of our own citizens and the people of this earth.

And such combined effort can not be left to chance  
and the moment. We need -- as a nation -- what you have  
around this <sup>days</sup> ~~days~~ as a party -- a combination of talents con-  
tributing to a program of human progress.

L Unhappily, this rational need is not being met today  
-- mostly, I am constrained to say, because the White House  
is not occupied by a liberal -- and you can take your pick

between a big L and a little l.

*We are the victims of  
a conservative - care-taker government.*

L Regrettably, a conservative government finds itself  
incapable of appreciating or understanding the full meaning  
of the political, economic, and social revolution that is  
underway today throughout the world, and indeed has been  
under way in many parts of the world for the past two generations.

L The Conservative government sees the problems, but never  
comes up with the answers.

L It is more concerned about the traditions and institutions

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of government, than it is about the people that the government is designed to serve.

*Republican Conservative Government*

Above all, ~~it~~ has demonstrated an utter incapacity

and inability to identify with people -- the needs of people,

the hopes and wants of people here and abroad.

*Peace  
People  
Progress*

We counter attack -- we react -- rather than design a program that we know to be right and sound, and worthy of our efforts, our tradition, and our sacrifice.

We have insisted upon allies, when it would have been better if we sought to make friends.

But the most depressing picture of all is how ~~we~~ <sup>our country</sup> have lost the mantle of the peace-maker.

The slogans of this Republican Administration are evidence enough to demonstrate to any person how we have played right into the hands of the Communist propagandists ~~who accuse~~ us of aggression, and of war-like aims.

While the American citizen may understand these slogans  
 for what they are -- mainly political palaver, or, in more  
 sophisticated words, "public relations" -- the people in other  
 parts of the world do not always comprehend our rather shoddy  
 colloquial expressions.

*Constantly*  
 When you talk of a 'bigger bang for a buck', 'massive  
retaliation', 'massive deterrent', and ~~you~~ explain in screaming  
 headlines the destructive power of the new fantastic nuclear  
 and thermo-nuclear weapons -- when day after day you attempt  
 to satisfy the American public's desire for an adequate  
 defense structure by headlines announcing another new missile,  
 or plans for an even bigger and more deadly missile and rocket,

is it any wonder that millions and millions of people throughout  
 the world doubt our dedication to peace?

~~we~~ *are talking*  
~~we have talked~~ ourselves out of the role of peacemaker.

And this Administration has done it without even providing the nation with the defense that ~~it requires.~~ *we need!*

What an ironical situation!

Public relations has been used as a substitute for public policy.

↳ Propaganda has been substituted for preparedness.

↳ The political slogan of a balanced-budget has been substituted for the maintenance of a proper balance of power in the world.

↳ Even massive deterrence has given way to a new kind of jargon called 'minimum deterrence'.

Anything, any word, any scheme, any gimmick to satisfy *Conservative* the Republican hard-money, tight-credit, high interest, balance-the-budget, tax loophole, special privilege, economic royalist credo.

↳ And we find ourselves with an Administration that is more

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concerned over inflation than it is with a world conflagration.

*The Republican*

Its spokesmen say quite openly, inflation is our greatest

danger -- even as Khrushchev threatens us again and again, and

as the power of the Communist military and economic machine

expands every day.

The tragedy of all this, however, is that the people of this country are truly dedicated to peace.

Ours is a tradition of peace and generosity, of compassion and humanitarianism.

What is more, there is nothing incompatible about having a strong defensive shield to give us the security and the sense of inner strength that makes possible the fulfillment of our mission as the peacemaker.

Let us never forget that there are many more people in this world who want to live, than want to die.

Let us not forget that millions of people have lived under

conditions of tyranny and terror for so long that there is  
nothing more than can be done to frighten them.

What they seek is help, guidance, friendship, under-  
standing.

What this world needs today is not massive retaliation,  
but massive doses of health, education, and food.

We need some guided missiles to the hearts and minds  
of men -- missiles of technology and science, missiles of  
schools and education; yes, missiles of medicine and medical  
care -- of jobs and industry, of public works and public  
welfare.

It is to the creation of these missiles that we must  
dedicate our talents and our energies.

We must wage peace, while we defend ourselves against  
attack.

We must move on the offensive, and declare war against

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mankind's most ancient and terrible enemies of hunger, disease, poverty, and ignorance.

It must be a war of deeds -- the kind of deeds that we Americans have demonstrated our ability to accomplish and perform.

*yes,* We need a bold, new "Food for Peace" program, dedicating our God-given <sup>food</sup> abundance to serving the needs of humanity -- rather than complaining about it.

We need a dramatic, worldwide "Health for Peace" program, with vastly expanded international medical research *to combat disease*

We need to launch a broad program of world educational development -- a plan of "Education for Peace". *a fight against ill health*

These are truly the "Works of Peace".

These are the kinds of deeds that made America what it is today.

This is the concept of government that might have been

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in the mind of the poet, John Donne, when he wrote that "No  
man is an island".

What John Donne referred to, when he wrote those words  
in the 16th Century, was the spiritual kinship of man to his  
fellow man.

Today, in the 20th Century, this kinship is more than  
spiritual: it is economic, it is scientific, it is intellectual  
-- yes, and it is political.

Hence we, today, can say with John Donne, that when the  
bell tolls for poverty, for disease, for death, or for the loss  
of liberty anywhere, "never send to know for whom the bell tolls;  
It tolls for thee" -- and me.

!!  
00

June 9, 1959

Regrettably, it has been a number of years since I have

had the opportunity of being with you at your annual dinner. Yet

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I have followed your activities closely, and I know since I have been

here you have been under the outstanding leadership of such distin-

guished liberal educators as <sup>Wolff</sup> A. A. Berle, former Under Secretary of

State and Professor of Law at Columbia; Dr. John Childs, George <sup>counts</sup> ~~Pitts~~,

who has left Columbia to teach at Pittsburgh, and your present acting

chairman, Paul Hayes, Columbia Professor of Law.

~~(also, find way to mention Alex Rose.)~~

Dane County

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Sept 25 - Oct 4

Dollars for Democrats

Pat Lucey -

Gou Nelson -

{ Bob Kastinmier }  
2 district

Fileo Nash  
John Reynolds  
Herman Jessen

Horace Wilkie

Leisl Tarko

FOR - forever  
Truman - anyone  
D.K. - Don't need one!



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